Our Filipino comrades have cleaned up their own house. There is much in this difficult history for everyone to learn from. Pomeroy may be a figure of the past, but Pomeroyism has never been corrected. euro-amerikan communists have never cleaned up their ***own*** *house. It is a heavy thing to send Red fighters to their deaths politically disarmed. It is a heavy thing to abuse the important call for international solidarity, to cover up for neo-colonial infiltration. It is a heavy thing to promote a clique of misleaders and traitors as the leaders of a national liberation movement. Pomeroyism did all those things.*

HOW REVISIONISM USES ARMED STRUGGLE

AGAINST THE ARMED STRUGGLE

PART II

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The New People's Army is usually credited by the puppet government with having 7,000–10,000 full-time guerrillas. It is known that there are roughly five part-time, local revolutionary militia for each full-time guerrilla (most of these militia do not yet have rifles). Even more positive, the NPA is but the armed spearhead of a mass, anti-imperialist mobilization (whereas the old HMB tried to act as a substitute for mass mobilization). The number of active supporters of the NPA is put at five millions. As of 1981 the National Democratic Front claimed some 40,000 local organizers in revolutionary mass organizations. Armed struggle has systematically been spread throughout most provinces in the islands. After 14 years of overcoming obstacles the new Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) adheres to its original strategy of protracted war. Despite great achievements it still considers its war in an **early stage**, still one of the strategic defensive.

"Who shall be victorious? Only the undefeated in the midst of defeat."

SUMMARY

In Part I we discussed how revisionism developed historically. Revisionism is "the voice of the petty bourgeoisie within the proletarian movement," created by the polarization of classes, in 19th-century europe, which pushed the petty bourgeoisie down to and in some cases into the growing proletarian movement. This familiar revisionism of Western Social Democracy pictures socialism as the product of gradual government reforms, of legal struggles and welfare programs. In the same way we are familiar with neo-colonialism as a false independence covering up a submission to imperialism by the puppet bourgeois.

Both revisionism and neo-colonialism must be seen not only in these familiar forms (which are still widespread), but in new forms **within** the national liberation struggles. This is true for guerrilla wars as well. A section of the colonial petty bourgeoisie, being ground under the heel of imperialism, seeks to use the power of the liberation struggle only to help them advance themselves. They use the armed struggle against itself. Their goal is to stop being imperialism's slaves—and instead be its new junior partners.

As an example of how this revisionism can infect an armed struggle we started examining the 1946–1955 Huk rebellion in the Philippines. The old Philippine Communist Party (PKP) was started in 1930—the same year as the Indochinese Communist Party. A Communist-led guerrilla army was formed during World War II, against the Japanese occupation. By 1950 the PKP was leading almost 12,000 soldiers in a major drive to seize power. This rebellion was smashed by the c.i.a.-led puppet military in a quick military disaster. The defeat was not because "imperialism was too strong," but because the Filipino people were betrayed by the very people leading the war. Particularly striking to us was the presence of one of the PKP leaders, the euro-amerikan William J. Pomeroy.

HOW REVISIONISM USES ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ARMED STRUGGLE
PART II

Neo-colonialism is an alliance between like-minded people of certain classes, in both the oppressor nation and the oppressed nation. We are used to only thinking of revolutionary solidarity as such an alliance. Imperialism has its alliances, just as we do. We are sharply reminded of this when we hit upon the role of William J. Pomeroy in the Huk rebellion. Pomeroy was a young, euro-amerikan intellectual, a member of the revisionist Communist Party USA, when he served as a G.I. in the 1945 reconquest of the Philippine colony. After being discharged he returned to the Philippines, married a Filipino communist, and rapidly found favor with the revisionist PKP leadership. During the Huk rebellion Pomeroy became the head of propaganda for the Philippine Communist Party. To us today that situation should look strange, to put it mildly.

William J . Pomeroy's allies, the revisionist PKP misleaders, were alone responsible for the military disasters that brought the 1946–1955 rebellion to defeat. There is something basic behind those military disasters, and all the "errors" of the Lava-Taruc clique. **The revisionists who misled the war against u.s. domination were themselves pro-amerikan.**

Even though the Lavas and Tarucs had joined the rebellion against u.s. imperialism, even though they had damned u.s. imperialism, they still were inwardly convinced of the superiority of "American" ways, "American" technology, "American" politics and culture. The Lavas and Tarucs secretly looked down on their own people and secretly looked up to and wanted to imitate the oppressor nation. Revisionism in the age of national liberation

AFTERWORD

Philippine communism, defeated in the 1950s, had to cross the long, difficult years of the Wilderness to reach the New People's Army of today. After 1955 small units of Huks still survived in Central Luzon, persisting in armed existence. Without political leadership and without any real strategy, "roving bandit" tendencies grew unchecked. They were guerrillas abandoned by their Party, fighting to survive. Many of their leaders had degenerated into a lumpen criminal mentality. PKP Secretary Jesus Lava surrendered in 1964. Lava had long since declared that guerrilla warfare was impossible in the Philippines (a nation of islands) since it did not have the vast, unreachable hinterlands that China had. Still, the greatly diminished forces of the old People's Liberation Army refused to give up.

The 1960s brought in a new generation of nationalist and class struggle, beginning first among rebellious students. A young guerrilla leader, Commander Dante, was determined to reverse the degeneration of the fighters. He went into Manila to establish secret contact with the new forces among the intellectuals. A handful of new communists and the honest "hard-core" in the guerrillas united to start a new communist party and a rebuilt army. In April 1969 Philippine Constabulary Gen. Zerrudo said that in Tarlac Province seven guerrilla units, led by a Commander Dante, comprised only 88 soldiers and 192 unarmed recruits. It was even fewer than that. The New People's Army began in 1969 in one district in Tarlac Province—60 guerrillas with only 35 rifles. After 15 difficult years of refusal to let the armed struggle die, this handful was all that remained of what had once been the 12,000-strong People's Liberation Army. But they were enough They had come out of the Wilderness.

Today People's War against u.s. imperialism engulfs the Philippines.

While the Lava-Taruc clique brought the rebellion to defeat, the contradictions go beyond the question of momentary military defeat or military victory. The Filipino people created the patriotic armed struggle against all imperialist invaders, and refused to abandon it.

The Lava-Taruc clique used armed struggle against the armed struggle. They tied the workers and peasants up in a bourgeois war, a war that was bourgeois in its relationship to the masses, in its methods and strategy. And since the many thousands of Red fighters, activists and patriots could not be in two different wars at the same time, the Lavas and Tarucs had really succeeded in suppressing People's War by substituting a different war, masked by revolutionary words and flourishing of arms. Instead of People's War, bourgeois war. A revolutionary who does not yet understand the difference between the two, does not understand armed struggle in this period.

Even if the war had been more militarily successful it would have only replaced the crude, landlord-comprador neo-colonialism with a more modern, revisionist neo-colonialism. For the Lava-Taruc clique never wanted the overthrow of u.s. imperialism, but only its reform to accomodate them. That is why they had so much in common with the revisionist Communist Party USA—and so little in common with the Chinese and Vietnamese Revolutions.

has a neo-colonial character.

This hidden pro-amerikanism (and the opportunism it inevitably accompanies) was exactly what the alliance of the Lava-Taruc clique and euro-amerikan revisionists was founded on. What made them so like-minded was their common neo-colonial orientation. So William J. Pomeroy's role was a symptom of a fundamental political crisis within the Filipino Revolution of the 1950s.

Pomeroy as an individual was without any legitimate qualifications to be in the center of the Filipino Revolution. Like a helicopter he just dropped right into the headquarters. Certainly neither the Filipino masses, the liberation movement, nor the guerrilla cadre as a whole had any say in the matter. It was, we might say, an involuntary and enforced alliance as far as many were concerned. Pomeroy in his memoirs writes about how one Huk fighter, whose sister had been treacherously executed in 1945 by G.I.s, always kept a drawn gun aimed at Pomeroy whenever the euro-amerikan "ally" came into this fighter's hut. On the other hand, the Lavas and Tarucs pushed Pomeroy forward as a symbol. The neo-colonial misleaders were proud of having a euro-amerikan collaborator, and clearly felt that the stamp of euro-amerikan approval gave them extra legitimacy.

This neo-colonial infection was manifested in far more important ways than the role of one person at guerrilla headquarters. **Hidden admiration for "American" things affected all military aspects, from strategy to tactics.** The military disasters did not come from so-called "errors," but from that fundamental flaw in the whole political leadership. The war was planned in a thoroughly bourgeois fashion, as an armed adventure, with no thought of the protracted drawing in, educating and transforming of the oppressed masses themselves as the main task.

In 1950 PKP Secretary Jose Lava predicted that they would win complete victory by 1952. He gave the fighters several reasons why this easy victory would take place. The first was that the People's Liberation Army (HMB) would simply outrecruit the puppet military so rapidly that it would become overpowering. Lava ordered that the over-l0,000 soldier HMB should recruit at a "geometric" rate, until they reached 170,000 by September 1951. Further, all training was to be done according to the u.s. Army training manual, in revisionist imitation of the u.s. Army. This scheme, in which the building of a Red Army was posed in a mechanical and bourgeois way, destroyed the HMB.

The main reason PKP Secretary Lava gave out in 1950 for why the fighters should expect easy victory was that u.s. imperialism would not oppose them. Lava said that because u.s. imperialism was faced with crises in so many places and had internal contradictions, it would "sit out" the war and let the communists win. Based on this the traitor Lava ordered all guerrilla units to not attack or in any circumstances fire on any u.s. forces, only on Filipinos. Their neo-colonialism took control of the military strategy itself, twisting it.

The old PKP leadership had thoroughly undermined the armed struggle. **Impatient to carry out showy and dramatic raids in 1950, the Lava-Taruc clique ordered the Red fighters to concentrate on certain big targets.**

This in most cases greatly over-extended the People's Army, **forcing it to maintain tactical bases, supply lines, and communications in and through hostile areas** where it had never organized the population. **"Fish" without a "sea."** Thus over-extended, the People's Army was unable to withstand the savage "encirclement and suppression" offensives of the c.i.a.-led puppet military.

journal) was actually none other than Pomeroy himself. He was only the representative of an entire u.s. oppressor nation movement, one which eventually raised neo-colonial meddling to its main activity.

Pomeroy did not go to the Philippines to consciously sabotage them. Doubtlessly he was pleased to be allowed to join the Huks, to show his solidarity by sharing their risks and hardships. But his still-dominant oppressor nation attitudes led him to abuse the friendship of the Filipino people. Without a struggle he allowed himself to claim a special position. Soon Pomeroy was "thick as thieves" with the misleaders and traitors. What could have been a great service (as Nym Wales and Norman Bethune did in China) and an example of real internationalism, became its opposite.

It was many years before all this was unmasked here. Little truth was known in the u.s. about the Huk rebellion (thanks to the revisionist Communist Party USA). William J. Pomeroy was thought of as a model of internationalism, as an exemplary "communist." After all, how could anything be wrong with a euro-amerikan who heroically joined the leading ranks of a Third-World guerrilla movement?

The lessons of the 1946–1955 Huk rebellion lead us to go beneath surface appearances. Imperialist repression did not defeat the rebellion—the masses were betrayed by revisionist and neo-colonial politics. Further, most publicized euro-amerikan "allies" turned out to have had "solidarity" only with the clique of neo-colonial misleaders—and have only harmed the cause of the Filipino people. When we go beneath the surface appearance of matters, we see that all those who pick up the gun, all those who lead armed struggle, are not automatically revolutionaries. And that every armed struggle is not necessarily People's War.

journal, *Ang Kommunista*, assured the cadres that the PKP was following a certain course: **"This course is the one blazed by the Chinese Revolution."**

This helps us understand why Philippine communism has taken such a serious view of the Lava-Taruc clique. Philippine communism refused to let them evade responsibility for their acts as honest "errors" and insisted that their successive policies were "right errors" and "ultra-left errors" indeed, but errors committed by bourgeois misleaders and traitors. Philippine communism long ago took full responsibility before their nation for that heavy set-back. William J. Pomeroy is a very minor issue of the past for them. After all, were it not for the Lavas and Tarucs, Pomeroy and his Party would never have been allowed to meddle in the liberation struggle. No serious liberation movement allows foreign meddlers to walk right in the door and take up residence.

Our Filipino comrades have cleaned up their own house. There is much in this difficult history for everyone to learn from. Pomeroy may be a figure of the past, but Pomeroyism has never been corrected. euro-amerikan communists have never cleaned up their **own** house. It is a heavy thing to send Red fighters to their deaths politically disarmed. It is a heavy thing to abuse the important call for international solidarity, to cover up for neo-colonial infiltration. It is a heavy thing to promote a clique of misleaders and traitors as the leaders of a national liberation movement. Pomeroyism did all those things.

The Lavas and Tarucs, while able at some factional intrigue, appreciated help from the Communist Party USA in fooling the Filipino people. William J. Pomeroy was useful to them by producing lots of revolutionary-appearing propaganda that puffed the misleaders up, giving them temporarily the look of the real thing. "Ernesto Diaz," (the editor of the PKP theoretical

As the military situation became worse, the Jesus Lava Secretariat was unable to give any overall leadership. In 1951, while trying to dodge the increasing blows from the c.i.a. counter-insurgency, the Red fighters received farcical orders to give up a guerrilla structure. They were told to immediately transform the HMB into a big, regular army. Instead the fighters were forced to break down into smaller units, less and less responsive to the irrelevant central leadership.

Relations with the masses were broken up as well. The Lava-Taruc clique, thinking to solve the serious food problems of the fighters in their customary bourgeois way, ordered that all barrios be divided into "friendly" and "unfriendly." In a "friendly" barrio the peasants voluntarily gave food and other aid to the HMB. The "unfriendly" barrios were those that refused. Under revisionist policy guerrillas could take whatever they needed by force from the peasants of "unfriendly" barrios. Poor peasants would be made to stand aside at riflepoint while hungry guerrillas took all their food, and even their precious carabao (water buffalo) used to pull the plow. This gave the Huks a reputation for criminal activity. c.i.a. pseudo-gangs took this and multiplied it, robbing and abusing peasants while pretending to be Huks.

On April 11, 1952 puppet troops surprised and captured the HMB Regional Command 1 headquarters. William J. Pomeroy was captured, and eventually spent ten years in prison as a celebrated political prisoner. In that same raid Gregoria Calma, Commander Luis Taruc's wife, was killed. Luis Taruc himself barely escaped. Shaken, Taruc began calling for "peaceful co-existence." In 1954 Taruc surrendered to c.i.a.-led forces, who used a young "radical" from a big capitalist family, Benigno Aquino, Jr., to coax him in. Mass surrenders spread. By 1955 the war was over. PKP Secretary Jesus Lava ordered all armed units to disband and instead take up organizing for bourgeois elections.

We have to see this in perspective. The Filipino people wanted national liberation and socialism. The masses, who had a rich history of mass peasant uprisings (armed only with knives and spears) against u.s. colonial rule in the 1920s and 1930s, dragged the PKP into the armed struggle. But the revisionist misleaders betrayed their people, creating military disasters by their bourgeois schemes. All this was long after the brilliant advances of People's War in China and Vietnam had **proven** how to defeat imperialism. All this was twenty years after Mao Zedong and the Red Army had begun their historic work in China. Over ten years after Mao's brilliant works on protracted war and guerrilla strategy were written. The Lavas and Tarucs deliberately turned their backs on communist science from other liberation struggles.

It is not true that this science was unavailable to the PKP. Mao Zedong's writings were being circulated internationally by communists and in the overseas Chinese communities even in the 1940s. Chinese in New York City and San Francisco were seriously studying his theories even then. The Chinese national minority in the Philippines, which was represented on the Central Committee of the PKP, could easily have translated Mao's pamphlets for the PKP. If they had been wanted. For that matter, many detailed accounts of China's People's War (such as those by Edgar Snow, Jack Belden, and Agnes Smedley) were available in English. So to not pick up this knowledge was a deliberate act, a deliberate turning away from it.

The Lavas and Tarucs did not use communist military science because they didn't want it. They didn't want a war that served the Filipino people; they wanted a war that served themselves. That is why they turned to bourgeois schemes and u.s. Army training manuals rather than the revolutionary experiences of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. Some "errors" happen on purpose.

William J. Pomeroy is again a good example of this. After he was pardoned in 1961, Pomeroy settled in London and became a big revisionist "expert" on guerrilla warfare. Pomeroy refuses to criticize himself or his party, the Communist Party USA, for neo-colonialism or anything else. Nor has he ever admitted that the Filipino people were betrayed by misleaders. Pomeroy puts all the weight for the defeat on the innocent lack of knowledge and experience of the PKP leadership:

"Not a single theoretical work by any Marxist or non-Marxist authority on guerrilla struggle or armed revolutionary struggle was in the possession of the Huk movement... The theories of Mao Zedong on the protracted war and its elements were scarcely heard of and played no part in Huk deliberations on strategy and tactics.

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"Together with these theoretical and organizational defects, in neither the military forces of the Huk nor in the Philippine Communist Party did there exist even one leader with anything approaching a grasp of over-all military theory or of the elements of its strategy and tactics affecting the Philippine situation..."

Contrary to Pomeroy's misleading appraisal, the PKP traitors had wrapped themselves in the mantle of the Chinese Revolution. The misleaders assured the Red fighters of that. Secretary Jose Lava claimed to have so mastered Mao's military-political thought that he knew that the concept of rear base areas didn't apply to the Philippines! Does anyone believe that the Filipino Revolution would have followed leaders who had confessed to not knowing about or not understanding the leading revolutionary ideas in the world? Or who had confessed to throwing aside those ideas? That is why Ernesto Diaz, the editor of the PKP's theoretical